C G 175 567 72 [266] [439]

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there

C G 175 556 721 727

are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed

C G 175 648 721

many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of

C Ce 175 101 181 648 C [361] [197] Ce [131]

Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a

C 175 [427] 726 648 567 Ce 648 175 [161]

more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

/348 cont./

287 439 [484] [435] half-breed villages. For the meager profits which this trade brings them they undertake long trips and even go as far as Sucre, where they are paid two to three pesos for each feather duster.

224 178 231 433 Hunting lost its importance from the day when the Chiriguano began to have cattle. Already about 20 years ago, those who /Plate XII appears here/ /349/ had several sheep, goats, cows, or even chickens did not take the trouble to accompany their comrades into the bush in search of game. What is the use of tiring oneself out running after peccaries for long days and risking getting oneself disemboweled or coming back empty-handed if just by staying home one can treat one's guests with some roast of meat or chicken broth?

231 435 [464] [465] The price of cattle has gone down a good deal these last years, and the Indians no longer need to go to the sugar mills of Argentina in order to come back with a cow or two in recompense for four to five months of hard work. Goats, sheep, and pigs are valued at two to four pesos apiece and it is often even a question of "prices for foreigners." A cow currently 471 231 [435] costs from 25 to 30 pesos, and an economical Indian has the means to acquire several during his life. Little by little, in each village modest herds have been formed, which the Indians care for like treasures. They husband them carefully, like all primitive peoples who raise cattle. They almost never kill their cow, and they sacrifice only rarely a goat or a sheep to their gluttony (1). In showing themselves to be so economical

[262] [178] 1. In former times they used to feel an unconquerable repugnance toward pork, which is dissipating nowadays (Nino, p. 252).

they are not obeying any superstition but simply are afraid to 556 diminish their capital. The wealth of an Indian is gauged by the number of his cows; and, in their Spanish jargon, "vacudo" /vaca, "cow"/ is a synonym for rich (2). Some of them have a

2. An Indian of Ñawirenda had as many as 40 head of cattle.

[Text Continues on p. 93]

/349 cont./

556 [435] [439] tendency to estimate the value of objects in cows. For example, a loom with a nearly finished poncho was offered to me "for a cow," and the owner of the loom could not understand that it was difficult for me to convert the exchange into money.

262 [251] Charqui, or meat dried in the sun, most often replaces fresh meat in the menus of our Indians. It is not a question of preference, but of necessity. Charqui is cheap and is bought in any estancia.

Fishing

221 226 When I went through the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Parapití, the rivers were in flood, the corn was ripening in the fields, and no Indian wanted to let the parrots eat his corn in order to go to catch fish at the risk of getting himself carried off by the current. If I had come back to these same villages in July or August, the scene would have been completely different. The rivers would have been only thin trickles of water, and in every direction I should have perceived men /350/ and women busy fishing. The fishing season would have been at its height.

[198] The Chiriguano, having come from a country rich in watercourses, have in this respect preserved the traditions of their ancestors of the Paraná or the Paraguay.

226 Some, equipped with large landing nets (Fig. 18), form barriers against the current and advance, gathering the fish as if with a spoon. Then they grab them and attach them to their belts, after /Fig. 18 appears here/ threading them on a cord [229] [482] by means of a wooden needle (Fig. 19). Others lie in wait for a fish in the water and, as it goes by, impale it with an arrow equipped with several points (Fig. 20) or simply with two long, barbed wooden rods. Some, with the help of stone barriers, try to make the fish converge toward the opening of a wicker trap (1). Sometimes a group of individuals turn aside a

1. Compare Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260): "In summer (the Chiriguano) divert a stretch of the river; they leave the fish in the drained

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "ä, ë" for the masculine "tä." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 191 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

383 171 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

591

595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and

764 dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate.

765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors whom orators constantly exhorted to fight.

/184 cont./

622 623 624 546 46 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tariire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques; even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[799] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques; some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556] /185/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

/154 cont./

One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize.

For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians.

The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too.

From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio

C 352 171

/178/ Now and then one sees a seat carved out of wood (Fig. 85) in a shape especially familiar from the Brazilian Indians.

Ce 415 [353]

A great many clay vessels of all dimensions are always standing along the walls of the huts. Some of them are so large that a man could crawl into them. There /179/ are pots, there are

Ce 482 291 854

Fig. 87. Chané woman. Rio Parapiti. She has a water jug in the carrying net.

C Ce 415

roasting bowls, there are handsomely painted vessels which are brought out for the festivals, and there is the treasure pot, in which the housewife keeps all the valuables and souvenirs of the family. In it, if the home is "well-to-do," lie clothing,

Ce Ce [556]

/179 cont./
ornaments, bowls of silver and necklaces of turquoise and chrysocolla, and many other things.

It is quiet very early in the villages. People do not talk all night, as in a Choroti or Ashluslay village. The young men and the unmarried young girls do not rove about in order to lie together. The virtuous Chané and Chiriguano girls are guarded by their mothers, do not seek adventure, and do not admit gentlemen callers. There are no nocturnal meals, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay. In these villages people sleep at night, that is, if they

Fig. 88. Tobacco pipe. Chiriguano. Caipipendi. 1/2.

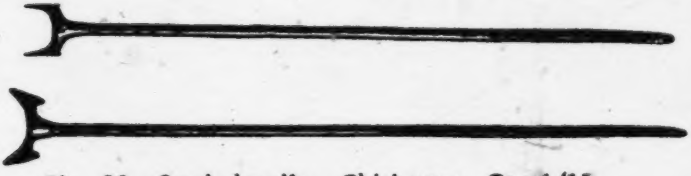

Fig. 89. Spade handle. Chiriguano. Ca. 1/15.

are not busy brewing maize for a festival.

Very early in the morning one is awakened in almost all villages by songs of lament. There is always someone who has lost a relative and mourns him loudly. If someone has died in the village, it is uncomfortable in the village for a person who likes to sleep late.

/180/ The women get up at the earliest hour in the morning, the men somewhat later, and the daily work begins. The first thing that the women do is to fetch water and take a bath, a truly refreshing bath.

They carry the water jugs in various ways. On the Rio Itiyuro the Chané women carry them on the shoulder, on the Rio Parapiti in a carrying net (Fig. 87). The latter custom is also

C Ce 231 /187 cont./ the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep, and goats than the Choroti and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl, and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock. The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white woman to come into a village with a few kegs of spirits and to leave it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. The whites are richer, the Indians poorer.

Ce [184] [556] Ce [439]

C 227

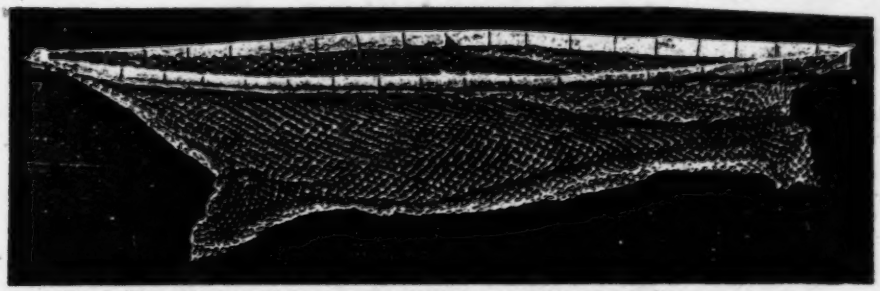

Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

C Ce 231 171 The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indian A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.

Preparation of Food

C Ce 252 The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating among the Choroti and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/ among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are terribly monotonous. They consist of maize in every possible form, cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

Ce [262]

Ce 165 556 621

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

Ce 622 701 642 643 Ce 682

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

Ce 692 643 681 C 531 415 Ce 682

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Rio Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "bád-dyási," occurred in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenbia. 1/6.

Ce 684 Ce 685 681

Ce 177 Ce 643 613 721 Ce 423 622 643

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has lain fallow for years.

/236 cont./ one of the wives of the Chiriguano chief Maringay can? They are famous far and wide in the valleys, and everyone tries to acquire her works through barter. I, not the least, admired her sure and discriminating art. The wife of the Chané chief Vocapoy (Pl. 19) is also no dabbler.

Where the Indians are rich, that is, have large maize harvests, the pottery is beautiful. Where they are poor and the

Fig. 116. Chané girls pound maize in a mortar. Rio Parapiti.

struggle for existence is hard, they do not have much time for artistic work. If art is to flourish in the Indian home, joy and mirth must prevail.